1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

841 754 not from indifference but rather from the fear that a woman can be easily bewitched if an enemy gets hold of some of the discharge.

841 538 There is a simple folk tale that is supposed to explain the origin of catamenia. A long time ago, a young woman went out in the dark to urinate against the slope of a hill. Just then the moon rose and saw her vagina. The moon regarded this as a lack of respect and punished her by causing her to menstruate every twenty eight days. The term for menstruation is *pekūyen·n*, "caught by the moon," *kūyen·*, and the phases of the moon are figuratively likened to a woman's life cycle. Thus, a new moon is a virgin, a full moon a pregnant female, and a [842] waning moon is a sterile old woman.[28] The close connection thought to exist between the moon and fertility helps to explain why intercourse with a menstruant is supposed to be likely to cause pregnancy.

[28] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

533 special songs were composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, satire, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119–21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122–34; 1913, after p. 226, with musical notation; 538 Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15–95) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Soustelle, 1938, pp. 76–77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s. v. koneu) look more European

534 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul·trun), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pifəllka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Housse, 1939, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:281–82; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 203)—the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

535 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Bascuñan (1863, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45–46), and use of masks (pl. 55, *bottom*) of wood and of canelo leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 128; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36).

527 796 **Recreation.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

end of the day several men were rather unstable on their feet, but no one was badly intoxicated. Conversation became very lively. 521

The face of the Araucanian, generally friendly but serious, lights up in conversation. When not talking about serious matters, conversation is interspersed with delightful and jovial remarks. Not infrequently retorts are whizzed back and forth with consequent laughter by all.

In all probability the fiestas of today, both national and religious, have replaced the kawiñ of former days—eating and drinking feasts, Cooper calls them. Acording to Cooper's sources, occasions for kawiñ were "religious rites, victory celebrations, erection of a hut, sowing and threshing, shearing, the completing of a new receptacle for chicha making, marriages, burials, athletic events, initiation into the shamanship, etc." (1946, p. 739). 527

Often the activities of small children are enjoyed by parents and others during hours of visiting or waiting. During an interview with a man, his wife taught their baby, a little older than a year, to blink. Later the woman asked her husband to observe the baby's accomplishment—she and the baby blinked at each other at which the husband laughed heartily. Blinking between the field assistant and baby caused more laughter and much humorous conversation in Araucanian. Later, to the amusement of all, the baby, with the help of the mother, sang repetitions of "asi." Older persons sometimes find enjoyment watching children of early school age tease one another. 517

Stories both historical and nonhistorical are told at any time; fables, generally only when children are listeners. In many fables the fox plays a role. "Do you want a fox story or the other kind," asked the spokesman of a group of schoolchildren. Two "fox stories" and one of "the other kind" follow. 538

As told to a schoolboy by his mother who spoke only Araucanian: 539

A fox ascended to heaven. Then he wanted to come down again, but he could not. Then he found a rope made of a vine—probably like any of the vines that climb up trees in the woods around here. He let himself down, but plump—there he was on the earth and dead. They found him dead, and those who found him carried him home. Then they fetched two machi. These machi sang songs, like only the machi know and sing. And then the fox moved! He took a stick as a support and walked out of the ruka, as best he could, and away he ran without paying the machi. And the two machi stood there in great surprise, mouths wide open and hands outstretched.

As told to a schoolgirl by her mother:

There was once a fox who was compatriot to a skunk. The fox said to the skunk, "We will exchange our ponchos." The skunk answered, "I do not want to exchange my poncho." So the fox took the skunk's poncho by force. The

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food offering for the *shompalwe*, in order to obtain fishing luck for herself and her family. She went to an out-of-the-way place, where someone was supposed to have been captured by one of these spirits, for in this way the best results are obtained. In the opinion of most people I spoke to this action branded the girl as a potential sorcerer. Some referred to her as *kalku*, others merely as *wesa lonko* (crazy or wrong-headed). Others among the local people felt that a mountain lion had killed her and that she had been devoured by lions and other animals, but the majority, including the young Mapuche with whom I was living (a Protestant missionary apprentice), were convinced that the *shompalwe* had taken all but her foot into the water to live with him. No one would look very closely for other remains. No funeral ceremony was held, even though her parents were able to identify the foot by the shoe.

It is commonly believed that the soul (*am*) is able to leave the body during sleep or illness. When it does under either circumstance, it runs the risk of being taken captive by a witch, and the body is in danger of dying. Shamans, however, are able to recall or recover the soul of a sick person, especially that of a comatose client who responds to massage, cold-shock applications, and herbal infusions (if these are able to be administered), thereby preventing death. Soul loss is a recurrent theme in stories of illness, although not the only cause of sickness and death. Intrusive black magic is also practiced by sorcerers, venom being carried by all forms of *wekufe* and by evil spirits who appear in dreams. There is little evidence of actual poisoning, however, in the sense of one person placing poison in the food or drink of an intended victim. Such practices are resorted to, although infrequently, but it is doubtful if the substance administered is really fatal.

Ancestral spirits which return to Mapucheland and are captured by *kalku*, or those which never succeed in making the transition to the halcyon spirit world and thus become contaminated before leaving earth, are by definition forces of evil. They are invisible, except insofar as they are transformed into *witranalwe* and other forms of *wekufe*, or when they return in dreams as spectral forms. They are literally bloodsuckers, and they bring ultimate death to their victims. They are ugly, except

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others.

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community.

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these